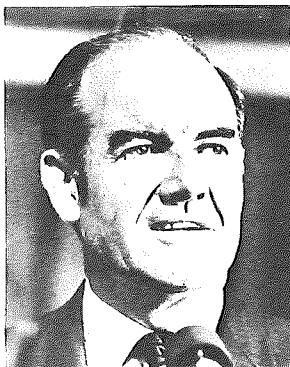
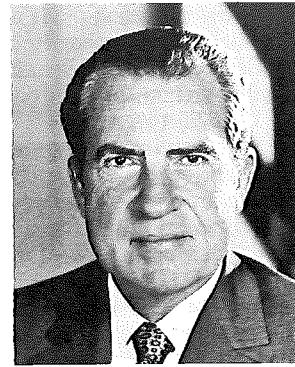


1972 Conventions

Presidential Candidates



George McGovern
Democrat



Richard M. Nixon
Republican

Democrats

Massive reforms in convention rules and delegate selection procedures made the Democratic convention held in Miami Beach, Fla., in July 1972 significantly different from the violence-plagued assembly in Chicago four years earlier.

Two special commissions, created by the 1968 convention, drafted the reforms. The Commission on Rules, chaired by Michigan Rep. James G. O'Hara, composed the first set of rules ever written on Democratic convention procedure. Among the reforms which were adopted by the Democratic National Committee were:

- A new vote allocation formula based nearly equally on electoral college strength and the Democratic vote in recent presidential elections.
- An expansion of the convention rules, platform and credentials committees so that their make-up would reflect state population differences rather than the previous method of allocating two seats to each state.
- The assurance that women and men be equally represented on committees and among convention officers.
- The requirement that the meetings and votes of all convention committees be open to the public.
- The requirement that the reports and minority views of all the committees be released at specified dates before the opening of the convention.
- The banning of floor demonstrations for candidates.
- The arrangement of the states and territories for roll calls in random sequence determined by lot rather than in the traditional alphabetical order.

The Commission on Party Structure and Delegate Selection, first chaired by South Dakota Sen. George McGovern and later by Minnesota Rep. Donald M. Fraser, formulated 18 guidelines to be met by the states in the delegate selection process. With the approval of these guidelines by the Democratic National Committee, they became part of the 1972 convention call, thus requiring the states to be in full compliance with the guidelines before they would be seated.

Among the important features of the 18 guidelines were the elimination of the unit rule; the restriction that no

more than ten per cent of a state's delegation be named by its state committee; the requirement that all steps in the delegate selection process be publicly advertised and held in easily accessible public places within the calendar year of the convention, the requirement that women, youth and minority groups be included in delegations "in reasonable relationship" to their presence in the state's population, and the establishment of a detailed, public method of hearing delegate challenges. (*Unit rule*, p. 12)

The reforms encouraged an unprecedented number of challenges. The credentials committee opened hearings in Washington, D.C., two weeks before the start of the convention, faced with 82 challenges from 30 states and one territory. A total of 1,289 delegates were challenged, representing more than 40 per cent of the convention delegates. More than four-fifths of the challenges were filed on grounds of non-compliance with reform commission guidelines regarding adequate representation of women, youth and minorities.

The most controversial challenges involved the California delegation and the part of the Illinois delegation controlled by Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley.

The credentials committee, in a move that caught supporters of McGovern, a candidate for the presidential nomination, by surprise, upheld a challenge of California's winner-take-all primary law, stripping McGovern of 151 of the 271 delegate votes he had won in the primary.

The committee voted 72 to 66 to award the 151 convention seats to Minnesota Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey and seven other candidates in proportion to their share of the popular ballots cast in the state's June primary. Although McGovern was clearly the front-runner for the nomination, the decision, if not overturned by the full convention, threatened his chances of being selected.

In a tense and dramatic balloting session the next day, the committee voted 71 to 61 to unseat Daley and 58 of his Chicago delegates. The committee decided to replace the 59 delegates on grounds that the procedures under which the Daley delegates had been selected violated five of the party's reform guidelines. Most of the Illinois delegates challenging Daley supported McGovern.

Although the losing sides in both the California and Illinois decisions took their cases to the courts, the courts ruled that the party conventions decide their claims.

The emotional credentials challenges were considered on the first night of the convention. Twenty-three challenges from 15 states were brought to the convention floor, but the spotlight was on the California and Illinois cases. A key preliminary vote took place on a challenge to the South Carolina delegation brought by the National Women's Political Caucus. The challenge, seeking to increase the number of women in the state delegation, was rejected by a vote of 1,555.75 to 1,429.05 (*Chart p. 172*)

The outcome of the vote could have set an important precedent on what constituted a majority on subsequent challenges. Anti-McGovern forces had hoped to get a ruling from the chair allowing an absolute majority of 1,509 delegates to prevail rather than a simple majority of delegates actually voting.

Convention Chairman Lawrence F. O'Brien (also chairman of the Democratic National Committee) had announced earlier that a majority would consist of one-half plus one of the number of eligible voters. The rules provided that no delegates could vote on their own credentials challenges.

Because the winning total on the South Carolina vote exceeded by a wide margin both the eligible majority and the absolute majority of the convention's 3,016 votes, the anti-McGovern coalition was unable to force a test of what constituted a majority. Thus the vote, although it rejected the position of South Carolina challengers favorable to McGovern, set the stage for returning the 151 California delegates to McGovern. The McGovern forces subsequently won the crucial California challenge, 1,618.28 to 1,288.22. (*Chart p. 172*)

Immediately after the vote on the California challenge, a Wallace delegate from Florida appealed the ruling of the chair that allowed 120 McGovern delegates from California to vote on their state's other 151 delegates. The appeal was rejected, 1,689.52 to 1,162.23.

Former Nebraska Gov. Frank B. Morrison, a McGovern supporter, proposed a compromise solution for the Illinois case that would seat both the Daley delegates and the insurgent challengers, while splitting the vote between them. The Morrison proposal asked for suspension of the rules—a parliamentary procedure requiring a two-thirds majority. The motion to suspend the rules was rejected by 1,473.08 nays to 1,411.05 yeas.

The minority report, which asked for seating of the Daley delegates alone, was defeated, 1,486.04 to 1,371.56. The vote seated a group, a majority of which supported McGovern, headed by Chicago Alderman William Singer and black activist Jesse Jackson. (*Chart, p. 172*)

No other roll-call votes were needed to resolve the remaining credentials challenges. After the settlement of all the delegate contests, the convention had a composition unlike that of any previous major party convention. The 1972 Democratic assembly was the largest in major party history, with 3,203 delegates casting 3,016 votes. Unlike 1968, the majority of delegates were chosen in state primary elections rather than in state conventions or caucuses. Nearly two-thirds of the delegates to the 1972 convention were selected in primaries, while only 41 per cent had been elected by the primary system four years earlier.

There were also large increases in the number of women, youth and racial minorities at the 1972 convention.

The proportion of women delegates rose from 13 per cent in 1968 to 40 per cent in 1972; the number of youth delegates (30 and under) dramatically jumped from 2.6 per cent in 1968 to 21 per cent four years later; and black delegates made up 15 per cent of the 1972 convention, compared with 5.5 per cent in 1968. But while women, youth and blacks were better represented than at earlier conventions, there was a lower level of participation by elected party officials. Only 30 of the 255 Democratic U.S. House members were present in Miami Beach.

The report of the rules committee was approved on the second day of the convention by a voice vote. The report proposed the abolition of winner-take-all primaries in 1976; the abolition of cross-over voting by Republicans in future Democratic presidential primaries; the selection of a woman as chairman of the 1976 convention, with the job rotating between the sexes thereafter; the creation of a special fund in the Democratic National Committee to subsidize the expenses of poor delegates at future national conventions and other party councils, and the appointment of a commission to make "appropriate revisions" in the reform guidelines.

Although the delegates overwhelmingly accepted these reforms, they balked at approving the party charter drafted by the rules committee. The new charter, the first ever written for a major party, was intended to free the national party of four-year presidential election cycles and to broaden public involvement in major national policy questions. But the charter was opposed by some party leaders, particularly members of Congress, who viewed the document as shifting power from elected politicians to the grass-roots level. By a vote of 2,408.45 to 195.10, the convention approved a compromise resolution to delay consideration of the charter until a proposed midterm policy conference in 1974. The compromise also enlarged the Democratic National Committee and revised its membership to reflect Democratic strength in the various states.

The settlement of the California challenge on the opening night of the convention in favor of the McGovern forces effectively locked up the presidential nomination for the South Dakota senator. The next day, two of his major rivals in the primaries, Senators Humphrey and Muskie, withdrew from the race. In the balloting on the third day of the convention, McGovern was an easy winner on the first roll call. Before switches, McGovern had received 1,728.35 votes to 525 for Sen. Henry M. Jackson of Washington, 381.7 for Gov. Wallace of Alabama and 151.95 for Rep. Shirley Chisholm of New York. After vote changes, McGovern's vote total rose to 1,864.95, but no attempt was made to take his nomination unanimous. (*Chart, p. 173*)

With McGovern's first choice for vice president, Sen. Edward M. Kennedy of Massachusetts, rebuffing all overtures, McGovern selected Missouri Sen. Thomas F. Eagleton. The vice presidential balloting was prolonged by the nomination of six other candidates, and by the time the roll call was suspended, votes were distributed among more than 70 different "candidates." Eagleton received 1,741.81 votes, a majority. He was followed by Frances T. ("Sissy") Farenthold, a women's rights leader from Texas, who had 404.04 votes, Sen. Mike Gravel of Alaska with 225.38 and former Massachusetts Gov. Endicott Peabody with 107.26. On the motion of Farenthold, the roll call was suspended and Eagleton was nominated by acclamation.

With the length of the vice presidential roll call, it was nearly 3 a.m. before McGovern was able to deliver his

acceptance speech. In it he stressed the anti-war theme that was a basic part of his campaign and implored the nation to "come home" to its founding ideals.

Barely ten days after selection of the Democratic ticket, on July 25, Eagleton disclosed that he voluntarily had hospitalized himself three times between 1960 and 1966 for "nervous exhaustion and fatigue." McGovern strongly supported his running mate at the time, but in the following days, his support for the Missouri Senator began to wane. After a meeting with McGovern on July 31, Eagleton withdrew from the ticket. It marked the first time since 1860 that a major-party candidate had withdrawn from a national ticket after the convention had adjourned.

On Aug. 5, McGovern announced that his choice to replace Eagleton was R. Sargent Shriver of Maryland, U.S. ambassador to France and the former director of the Peace Corps and the Office of Economic Opportunity. The newly enlarged Democratic National Committee formally nominated Shriver in an Aug. 8 meeting in Washington. The new vice presidential candidate received 2,936 of the 3,013 votes cast, with the Missouri vote going to Eagleton and four of Oregon's votes to former Sen. Wayne Morse.

The 1972 Democratic platform was probably the most liberal and the longest (about 25,000 words) ever offered by a major political party. The platform was more a collection of independent reform proposals than a unified plan of action. Its recommendations, largely written by separate subject-area task forces, did not translate into a compact program for Congress to consider or for a president to propose. But the platform's common themes reflected the changes in the party since 1968 and set it off from all other Democratic platforms of the previous generation.

The convention made no concessions to the views of Wallace, even though he made a dramatic appearance at the podium in a wheelchair to urge adoption of minority planks his supporters had offered.

The planks called for a constitutional amendment to outlaw busing, tax reform, reintroduction of the death penalty, cutbacks in foreign aid, popular election of federal judges and Senate reconfirmation of Supreme Court justices, a school prayer amendment and support for the right to own guns. They were rejected by voice votes.

Twenty separate minority planks were considered by the convention, but only two were adopted, both by voice vote. One strengthened the American commitment to Israel by adding language promising "a military force in Europe and at sea in the Mediterranean ample to deter the Soviet Union from putting unbearable pressure on Israel." The second endorsed "allocation of federal surplus lands to American Indians on a priority basis."

Two roll-call votes were taken on other planks. The National Welfare Rights Organization sponsored a measure requiring the federal government to guarantee every family of four an annual income of \$6,500. This proposal lost, 1,852.86 to 999.34. The other roll call was on a minority plank supporting the right of women to control their reproductive lives without legal interference. Offered by pro-abortion groups, it was defeated 1,572.80 to 1,101.37.

Two other significant minority planks were rejected by voice votes. One was a tax reform measure pushed by Oklahoma Sen. Fred Harris, which had the slogan, "Take the rich off welfare." The other was a "gay rights" plank endorsing the repeal of all laws regarding voluntary sex acts performed by adults in private.

The platform session demonstrated the firm control McGovern had over the proceedings of the convention. The

two minority planks added to the platform were the only proposed additions that McGovern did not specifically oppose. He asked his delegates to support the pro-Israel plank and told them to vote their consciences on the Indian issue.

Planks dealing with domestic issues composed more than four-fifths of the platform. The domestic planks recommended little significant expansion of the size and scope of the federal government. With the major exception of health insurance, the platform sought to restructure society by shifting money and political power to the underprivileged, not by developing federal agencies to alter their lives.

The platform endorsed income redistribution through tax reforms and a guaranteed annual income. It sought expansion of minority-group rights in all political and federal government affairs. To solve the financial crisis at local levels, it endorsed general revenue sharing with local control over use of the money. All this represented a departure from the statist liberalism that had dominated Democratic platforms since the New Deal of the 1930s.

The foreign policy planks broke with the Cold War rhetoric of 1968 and previous years. While endorsing the concept of a strong national defense, the platform devoted more space to peace in Indochina, improved relations with the Communist world and less help for non-Communist totalitarian regimes. Only four years earlier, the Democrats had given considerable space to warnings against Soviet and Chinese expansion and to praise for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The 1968 platform called for scrutiny of wasteful defense spending practices, but the 1972 document made military cuts a major campaign promise and a source of financing for domestic programs.

The platform's position on the Vietnam war was blunt and unequivocal. As "the first order of business" of a Democratic administration, the platform pledged "immediate and complete withdrawal of all U.S. forces in Indochina." The plank also promised an end to military aid to the Saigon regime, but pledged economic assistance to Vietnam to help the nation emerge from the war. Amnesty for war resisters was recommended after the return of American prisoners of war.

Following are excerpts from the Democratic platform of 1972:

Foreign Policy. The next Democratic Administration should:

- End American participation in the war in Southeast Asia.
- Re-establish control over military activities and reduce military spending, where consistent with national security.
- Defend America's real interests and maintain our alliances, neither playing world policeman nor abandoning old and good friends.
- Not neglect America's relations with small third-world nations in placing reliance on great power relationships.
- Return to Congress, and to the people, a meaningful role in decisions on peace and war, and
- Make information public, except where real national defense interests are involved.

Vietnam. We believe that war is a waste of human life. We are determined to end forthwith a war which has cost 50,000 American lives, \$150 billion of our resources, that has divided us from each other, drained our national will and inflicted incalculable damage to countless people. We will end that war by a simple plan that need not be kept secret: The immediate total withdrawal of all Americans from Southeast Asia.

Military Spending. Military strength remains an essential element of a responsible international policy. America must have the strength required for effective deterrence.

But military defense cannot be treated in isolation from other vital national concerns. Spending for military purposes is greater by far than federal spending for education, housing, environmental protection, unemployment insurance or welfare. Unneeded dollars for the military at once add to the tax burden and pre-empt funds from programs of direct and immediate benefit to our people. Moreover, too much that is now spent on defense not only adds nothing to our strength but makes us less secure by stimulating other countries to respond.

Vietnam Amnesty. To those who for reasons of conscience refused to serve in this war and were prosecuted or sought refuge abroad, we state our firm intention to declare an amnesty, on an appropriate basis, when the fighting has ceased and our troops and prisoners of war have returned.

Federal Power. The new Democratic Administration can begin a fundamental re-examination of all federal domestic social programs and the patterns of service delivery they support. Simply advocating the expenditure of more funds is not enough, although funds are needed, for billions already have been poured into federal government programs like urban renewal, current welfare and aid to education, with meager results. The control, structure and effectiveness of every institution and government grant system must be fully examined and these institutions must be made accountable to those they are supposed to serve.

Economy. The heart of a program of economic security based on earned income must be creating jobs and training people to fill them. Millions of jobs—real jobs, not make-work—need to be provided. Public service employment must be greatly expanded in order to make the government the employer of last resort and guarantee a job for all.

Tax Reform. The cost of government must be distributed more fairly among income classes. We reaffirm the long-established principle of progressive taxation—allocating the burden according to ability to pay—which is all but a dead letter in the present tax code.

Poverty. The next Democratic Administration must end the present welfare system and replace it with an income security program which places cash assistance in an appropriate context with all of the measures outlined above, adding up to an earned income approach to ensure each family an income substantially more than the poverty level ensuring standards of decency and health, as officially defined in the area. Federal income assistance will supplement the income of working poor people and assure an adequate income for those unable to work.

Crime. There must be laws to control the improper use of hand guns. Four years ago a candidate for the presidency was slain by a hand gun. Two months ago, another candidate for that office was gravely wounded. Three out of four police officers killed in the line of duty are slain with hand guns. Effective legislation must include a ban on sale of hand guns known as Saturday night specials which are unsuitable for sporting purposes.

Free Expression and Privacy. The new Democratic Administration should bring an end to the pattern of political persecution and investigation, the use of high office as a pulpit for unfair attack and intimidation and the blatant efforts to control the poor and to keep them from acquiring additional economic security or political power.

The epidemic of wiretapping and electronic surveillance engaged in by the Nixon Administration and the use of grand juries for purposes of political intimidation must be ended. The rule of law and the supremacy of the Constitution, as these concepts have traditionally been understood, must be restored.

Rights of Women. Women historically have been denied a full voice in the evolution of the political and social

institutions of this country and are therefore allied with all underrepresented groups in a common desire to form a more humane and compassionate society. The Democratic Party pledges the following:

- A priority effort to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment....

- Appointment of women to positions of top responsibilities in all branches of the federal government, to achieve an equitable ratio of women and men.

School Busing. We support the goal of desegregation as a means to achieve equal access to quality education for all our children. There are many ways to desegregate schools: School attendance lines may be redrawn; schools may be paired; larger physical facilities may be built to serve larger, more diverse enrollments; magnet schools or educational parks may be used. Transportation of students is another tool to accomplish desegregation. It must continue to be available according to Supreme Court decisions to eliminate legally imposed segregation and improve the quality of education for all children.

Agriculture. We will resist a price ceiling on agriculture products until farm prices reach 110 percent of parity, based on the 1910-14 ratios, and we will conduct a consumer education program to inform all Americans of the relationship between the prices of raw commodities and retail prices;

We will end farm program benefits to farm units larger than family-size....

Presidential Elections. We favor a Constitutional change to abolish the Electoral College and to give every voter a direct and equal voice in Presidential elections. The amendment should provide for a runoff election, if no candidate received more than 40 percent of the popular vote.

Republicans

Six weeks after the Democratic convention, the Republicans gathered in the same Miami Beach convention hall. The late August convention, precisely programmed to make the most of free prime time, was a gigantic television spectacular from start to finish. The main business of the convention, the nomination of President Nixon and Vice President Agnew to a second term, was a carefully planned ritual.

The selection of Miami Beach as the convention city provided as much drama as the convention itself. Initially the Republicans had chosen San Diego, Calif., as the host city, but the reluctance of that city to provide necessary facilities on schedule, coupled with the revelation that the International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation had pledged as much as \$400,000 in local contributions, led the Republican National Committee to move the convention to Miami Beach.

Despite the preliminary organizational problems, the atmosphere of the convention itself was almost euphoric, and the sessions proceeded with dispatch. The five sessions lasted only 16 hours and 59 minutes, compared with the 32 hours and 18 minutes of the Democratic convention.

The one debate, which lasted only an hour, occurred over the adoption of new procedures for selecting national convention delegates. The Republican National Committee's preconvention rules committee approved a 1976 delegate allocation plan initiated by Texas Sen. John G. Tower and New York Rep. Jack F. Kemp. The plan emphasized a state's Republican presidential vote in awarding bonus delegates. It was viewed as especially beneficial to small southern and western states. The convention rules committee amended the Tower-Kemp plan to make it more palatable to larger states by adding some

bonus delegates for states electing Republican governors and members of Congress.

However, Rep. William A. Steiger of Wisconsin introduced a different plan, weighted more toward states electing Republican governors and members of Congress—a plan that would work to the advantage of the larger states. The debate on the contrasting plans focused on the question of whether states should be rewarded chiefly for delivering their electoral votes to a Republican presidential candidate or whether the bonus should be based to some extent on gubernatorial and congressional contests.

The dispute was in part a battle between liberals and conservatives. Final victory for the conservatives was achieved on a 910-to-434 roll-call vote that defeated the Steiger amendment. The reallocation formula adopted by the delegates would expand the 1976 convention to more than 2,000 delegates, compared with the 1,348 who came to Miami Beach in 1972.

The struggle over the delegate allocation formula was the only sign of party division at the convention. Nixon was renominated on the third night of the convention, receiving 1,347 of the 1,348 votes. The only opposing vote was cast reluctantly by a delegate from New Mexico for Rep. Paul N. McCloskey Jr. of California, whose anti-war challenge of the President had fizzled after the year's first primary in New Hampshire. (*Chart, p. 174*)

One measure of the unity that surrounded the festive proceedings was the appearance of New York Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller to deliver Nixon's nominating speech. Rockefeller had become a loyal supporter of the President after having been his chief rival for the Republican nomination in 1960 and 1968.

Agnew was nominated the next night with 1,345 votes. There were two abstentions and one waggish vote for newscaster David Brinkley.

In his acceptance speech, Nixon combined a review of his first four years with promises for the next four and indirect but highly partisan attacks on his Democratic opponent, George McGovern. Nixon stressed that the choice in the upcoming election was "not between radical change and no change, the choice...is between change that works and change that won't work."

The Republican platform provoked little discussion on the convention floor and was approved by a voice vote. Two amendments were offered to the platform. The first, which would have pledged a prohibition on deficit federal spending, was defeated by voice vote. The second, advocating self-determination for American Indians, was approved by voice vote with the consent of the platform committee chairman, Rep. John J. Rhodes of Arizona.

The document, approximately 20,000 words long, was generally moderate in its proposals' and conservative in language, in contrast to the Democrats' liberal platform.

The actual drafting of the Republican platform was heavily influenced by the White House, and platform committee sessions were held behind closed doors. In contrast, the Democrats held ten regional hearings around the country, drafted their platform in public and were required by party rules to produce a final version at least ten days before the convention opened.

The Republican platform was sharply critical not only of McGovern's new leadership of the Democratic Party but also of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations of the "nightmarish" 1960s.

The contrast with the Democratic platform on domestic affairs was stark. The Democrats advocated in-

come redistribution through tax reform and a guaranteed annual income. The Republicans mentioned tax reform but did not include specifics. They rejected the guaranteed income plan.

Both parties called for a reduction in property taxes, although the Republicans made no mention of the value-added tax, a revenue measure the Nixon administration was said to be considering.

The Democrats advocated an immediate end to economic controls; the Republicans proposed to remove the controls "once the economic distortions spawned in the late 1960's are repaired."

The Democrats supported a federally financed and administered national health insurance system, while the Republicans supported a national health insurance plan financed by employers and employees as well as the federal government.

The Republicans opposed busing children to achieve racial balance in schools. The Democrats, however, viewed busing as "another tool" to bring about desegregation. The Republicans supported voluntary school prayer, an issue the Democrats did not mention.

The Republicans opposed legislation on gun control, while the Democrats endorsed a ban on the sale of handguns. The Republicans opposed the legalization of marijuana; the Democrats did not mention the subject in their platform.

Both parties took similar positions on several controversial social issues. The Republicans and Democrats both supported the equal rights amendment to the Constitution, but neither platform specifically mentioned abortion or the rights of homosexuals.

Major differences between the parties were evident in national defense and foreign affairs. The Republicans chided the Democrats for proposing "meat-ax slashes" in the defense budget and charged that their proposals were "worse than misguided; they are dangerous." The Republicans rejected what they described as "a whimpering 'come back America' retreat to isolationism."

The continuing Vietnam war highlighted the foreign policy section. The Republican platform took a swipe at the Democrats by promising that the Nixon administration would not abandon the South Vietnamese or "go begging to Hanoi." If negotiations with North Vietnam failed, the platform promised continuation of the administration's Vietnamization program, gradually phasing out American involvement in the war. But before the remaining United States troops would be withdrawn, the Republicans declared, there must be a return of prisoners of war and an accounting of those missing in action. The Republicans opposed any form of amnesty.

The Republicans pledged to maintain an adequate nuclear deterrent, to help other nations develop the capability to defend themselves, to honor treaty commitments and to defend American interests but limit involvement when American interests were not involved.

The Democrats had taken a stronger stand than in previous platforms against what they considered misguided American support for repressive regimes throughout the world. In addition, the Democrats argued for re-examination of the hostile United States policy toward Cuba.

Following are excerpts from the Republican platform of 1972:

Foreign Policy. Historians may well regard these years as a golden age of American diplomacy. Never before has

our country negotiated with so many nations on so wide a range of subjects—and never with greater success.

Vietnam. We will continue to seek a settlement of the Vietnam war which will permit the people of Southeast Asia to live in peace under political arrangements of their own choosing. We take specific note of the remaining major obstacle to settlement—Hanoi's demand that the United States overthrow the Saigon government and impose a Communist-dominated government on the South Vietnamese. We stand unequivocally at the side of the President in his effort to negotiate honorable terms, and in his refusal to accept terms which would dishonor this country.

Military Spending. To the alarm of free nations everywhere, the New Democratic Left now would undercut our defenses and have America retreat into virtual isolation, leaving us weak in a world still not free of aggression and threats of aggression. We categorically reject this slash-now, beg-later approach to defense policy....

We draw a sharp distinction between prudent reductions in defense spending and the meat-ax slashes with which some Americans are not beguiled by the political opposition.

Vietnam Amnesty. We are proud of the men and women who wear our country's uniform, especially of those who have borne the burden of fighting a difficult and unpopular war. Here and now we reject all proposals to grant amnesty to those who have broken the law by evading military service. We reject the claim that those who fled are more deserving, or obeyed a higher morality, than those next in line who served in their places.

Economy. We have already removed some temporary controls on wages and prices and will remove them all once the economic distortions spawned in the late 1960's are repaired. We are determined to return to an unfettered economy at the earliest possible moment.

We affirm our support for the basic principles of capitalism which underline the private enterprise system of the United States. At a time when a small but dominant faction of the opposition Party is pressing for radical economic schemes which so often have failed around the world, we hold that nothing has done more to help the American people achieve their unmatched standard of living than the free enterprise system.

Tax Reform. We reject the deceitful tax "reform" cynically represented as one that would soak the rich, but in fact one that would sharply raise the taxes of millions of families in middle-income brackets as well. We reject as well the lavish spending promised by the opposition Party which would more than double the present budget of the United States Government. This, too, would cause runaway inflation or force heavy increases in personal taxes.

Gun Control. [We pledge to] safeguard the right of responsible citizens to collect, own and use firearms for legitimate purposes, including hunting, target shooting and self-defense. We will strongly support efforts of all law enforcement agencies to apprehend and prosecute to the limit of the law all those who use firearms in the commission of crimes.

Women's Rights. Continued...support of the Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution, our Party being the first national party to back this Amendment.

School Busing. We are irrevocably opposed to busing for racial balance. Such busing fails its stated objective—improved learning opportunities—while it achieves results no one wants—division within communities and hostility between classes and races. We regard it as unnecessary, counter-productive and wrong.

School Prayer. We reaffirm our view that voluntary prayer should be freely permitted in public places—particularly, by school children while attending public schools—provided that such prayers are not prepared or prescribed by the state or any of its political subdivisions and that no person's participation is coerced, thus preserving the traditional separation of church and state.

Education. Our efforts to remedy ancient neglect of disadvantaged groups will continue in universities as well as in society at large, but we distinguish between such efforts and quotas. We believe the imposition of arbitrary quotas in the hiring of faculties or the enrollment of students has no place in our universities; we believe quotas strike at the essence of the university.

Health. To assure access to basic medical care for all our people, we support a program financed by employers, employees and the Federal Government to provide comprehensive health insurance coverage, including insurance against the cost of long-term and catastrophic illnesses and accidents and renal failure which necessitates dialysis, at a cost which all Americans can afford....

We oppose nationalized compulsory health insurance. This approach would at least triple in taxes the amount the average citizen now pays for health and would deny families the right to choose the kind of care they prefer. Ultimately it would lower the overall quality of health care for all Americans.

Welfare. Perhaps nowhere else is there a greater contrast in policy and philosophy than between the Administration's remedy for the welfare ills and the financial orgy proposed by our political opposition....

We flatly oppose programs or policies which embrace the principle of a government-guaranteed income. We reject as unconscionable the idea that all citizens have the right to be supported by the government, regardless of their ability or desire to support themselves and their families.

—Convention Narrative by Rhodes Cook

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GUIDE TO U.S. ELECTIONS

1972 Democratic

(Narrative, p. 113)

Delegation ¹	Total Votes	Minority Report South Carolina Credentials			Minority Report California Credentials			Minority Report Illinois Credentials			
		Yea	Nay	Not voting	Yea	Nay	Not voting	Yea	Nay	Not voting	
California	271	120	151	—	120	—	151	84	136	51	
South Carolina	32	—	9	23	3	29	—	31	1	—	
Ohio	153	63	87	3	75	78	—	69	70	14	
Canal Zone	3	1.50	1.50	—	3	—	—	1	2	—	
Utah	19	10	8	1	13	6	—	5	14	—	
Delaware	13	5.85	7.15	—	6.50	6.50	—	6.50	6.50	—	
Rhode Island	22	20	2	—	22	—	—	7.09	14.91	—	
Texas	130	34	96	—	34	96	—	96	34	—	
West Virginia	35	13	22	—	15	20	—	24	11	—	
South Dakota	17	17	—	—	17	—	—	—	17	—	
Kansas	35	17	18	—	18	17	—	18	17	—	
New York	278	269	9	—	267	11	—	20	256	2	
Virginia	53	34.50	18.50	—	38.50	14.50	—	16.50	35.50	1	
Wyoming	11	2.20	8.80	—	4.40	6.60	—	7.70	3.30	—	
Arkansas	27	13	14	—	8	19	—	13	14	—	
Indiana	76	18	58	—	33	43	—	53	23	—	
Puerto Rico	7	6.50	0.50	—	6.50	0.50	—	0.50	6.50	—	
Tennessee	49	22	27	—	23	26	—	20	29	—	
Pennsylvania	182	55.50	126	0.50	72	105	5	106.50	62	13.50	
Mississippi	25	20	5	—	19	6	—	—	25	—	
Wisconsin	67	39	28	—	55	12	—	12	55	—	
Illinois	170	79	90	1	114.50	55.50	—	76	30	64	
Maine	20	1	19	—	—	20	—	13	7	—	
Florida	81	1	80	—	3	78	—	80	1	—	
New Hampshire	18	13.50	4.50	—	9.90	8.10	—	9	8.10	0.90	
Arizona	25	15	10	—	12	13	—	4	21	—	
North Carolina	64	6	58	—	21	43	—	39	23	2	
Massachusetts	102	97	5	—	97	5	—	11	91	—	
Nebraska	24	14	9	1	20	4	—	13	11	—	
Georgia	53	5.50	47.50	—	21.75	31.25	—	24	27.50	1.50	
North Dakota	14	7	6.30	0.70	8.40	5.60	—	2.10	11.90	—	
Maryland	53	24	29	—	27.83	25.17	—	28.67	24.33	—	
New Jersey	109	79	29	1	85.50	22.50	1	30	75.50	3.50	
Vermont	12	7	5	—	11	1	—	2	10	—	
Nevada	11	5.75	5.25	—	5.75	5.25	—	6.75	4.25	—	
Michigan	132	51	81	—	55	76	1	85	47	—	
Iowa	46	23	23	—	27	19	—	20	26	—	
Colorado	36	23	13	—	27	9	—	5	31	—	
Alabama	37	1	36	—	1	36	—	32	5	—	
Alaska	10	6.75	3.25	—	7.25	2.75	—	4.75	5.25	—	
Hawaii	17	2	15	—	7	10	—	17	—	—	
Washington	52	—	52	—	—	52	—	52	—	—	
Minnesota	64	56	8	—	29	35	—	32	32	—	
Louisiana	44	25	19	—	22.50	21.50	—	9.50	32.50	2	
Idaho	17	12.50	4.50	—	11.50	5.50	—	4	13	—	
Montana	17	10	7	—	14.50	1	1.50	2.50	14.50	—	
Connecticut	51	8	43	—	21	30	—	40	11	—	
District of Columbia	15	12	3	—	13.50	1.50	—	1.50	13.50	—	
Virgin Islands	3	1	2	—	2.50	0.50	—	3	—	—	
Kentucky	47	10	37	—	11	36	—	36	10	1	
Missouri	73	13.50	59.50	—	22.50	50.50	—	59	13	1	
New Mexico	18	10	8	—	10	8	—	8	10	—	
Guam	3	1.50	1.50	—	1.50	1.50	—	—	3	—	
Oregon	34	16	18	—	33	1	—	2	32	—	
Oklahoma	39	11	28	—	11	28	—	29	9	1	
Total		3016	1429.05	1555.75	31.20	1618.28	1238.22	159.50	1371.56 ^a	1486.04 ^b	158.40

1. Delegations at this convention are listed in the order in which they voted. All fractional votes are expressed in decimals for consistency.

a. Sum of column; proceedings record, 1371.55.

b. Sum of column; proceedings record, 1486.05.

1972 Democratic

Minority Report
Guaranteed IncomeFirst Presidential²
(Before shift)First Presidential³
(After shift)

Yea	Nay	Not voting	McGovern	Jackson	Wallace	Chisholm	Sanford	McGovern	Jackson	Wallace	Chisholm	Sanford
131	114	26	271	—	6	4	—	271	—	9	—	—
4	21	7	6	10	—	—	6	10	—	6	—	6
39	86	28	77	39	—	—	23	77	39	—	23	3
2.50	0.50	—	3	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—
8	11	—	14	1	—	—	—	14	1	—	—	—
4.55	8.45	—	5.85	6.50	—	0.65	—	5.85	5.85	—	0.65	—
10.86	11.14	—	22	—	—	—	—	22	—	—	—	—
15	115	—	54	23	48	4	—	54	23	48	4	—
3	32	—	16	14	1	—	—	16	14	1	—	4
1	16	—	17	—	—	—	—	17	—	—	—	—
5	30	—	20	10	—	2	1	20	10	—	2	1
152	118	8	263	9	—	6	—	278	—	—	—	—
30	21	2	33.50	4	—	5.50	—	37	5	—	2.50	8.50
0.55	10.45	—	3.30	6.05	—	1.10	—	3.30	6.05	—	1.10	—
10	16	1	1	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—
17	56	3	26	20	26	1	—	28	19	25	—	—
4	3	—	7	—	—	—	—	7	—	—	7	—
21	27	1	—	—	33	10	—	5	—	32	7	—
49.50	117.50	15	81	86.50	2	9.50	1	81	86.50	2	9.50	1
22	—	3	10	—	—	12	3	23	—	—	2	—
29	38	—	55	3	—	5	—	55	3	—	5	—
59	95	16	119	30.50	0.50	4.50	2	155	6	—	1	—
1	19	—	5	—	—	—	—	5	—	—	—	—
4	77	—	2	—	75	2	—	4	—	75	—	—
0.90	14.40	2.70	10.80	5.40	—	—	—	10.80	5.40	—	—	—
6	19	—	21	3	—	—	—	22	3	—	—	—
17	47	—	—	—	37	—	27	—	—	37	—	27
60	40	2	102	—	—	—	—	102	—	—	—	—
2	22	—	21	3	—	—	—	21	3	—	—	—
10.50	34	8.50	14.50	14.50	11	12	1	14.50	14.50	11	12	1
1.40	10.50	2.10	8.40	2.80	0.70	0.70	—	10.50	2.10	—	0.70	—
14.33	38.67	—	13	—	38	2	—	13	—	38	2	—
61.50	35.50	12	89	11.50	—	4	1.50	92.50	11	—	3.50	—
4	8	—	12	—	—	—	—	12	—	—	—	—
2.75	8.25	—	5.75	5.25	—	—	—	5.75	5.25	—	—	—
30.50	96.50	5	50.50	7	67.50	3	1	51.50	7	67.50	2	1
6	39	1	35	—	—	3	4	35	—	—	3	4
15	21	—	27	—	—	7	—	29	2	—	5	—
10	27	—	9	1	24	—	1	9	1	24	—	1
3	5.50	1.50	6.50	3.25	—	—	—	6.50	3.25	—	—	—
1.50	15.50	—	6.50	8.50	—	1	—	6.50	8.50	—	1	—
1	51	—	—	52	—	—	—	—	52	—	—	—
28	33	3	11	—	—	6	—	43	—	—	4	1
22	20	2	10.25	10.25	3	18.50	2	25.75	5.25	3	4	1
5	12	—	12.50	2.50	—	2	—	12.50	2.50	—	2	—
2	14	1	16	—	—	1	—	16	—	—	1	—
22	29	—	30	20	—	—	1	30	20	—	—	1
15	—	—	13.50	1.50	—	—	—	13.50	1.50	—	—	—
2.50	0.50	—	1	1.50	—	0.50	—	1	1.50	—	0.50	—
1	41	5	10	35	—	—	2	10	35	—	—	2
12	55	6	24.50	48.50	—	—	—	24.50	48.50	—	—	—
3	15	—	10	—	8	—	—	10	—	8	—	—
—	3	—	—	1.50	1.50	—	—	—	1.50	1.50	—	—
11	23	—	34	—	—	—	—	34	—	—	—	—
5.50	31.50	2	10.50	23.50	—	1	4	9.50	23.50	—	2	4
999.34	1852.86	163.80	1728.35	525.00	381.70	151.95	77.50	1864.95	485.65	377.50	101.45	69.50

2. Humphrey, 66.70 (46 in Minnesota, 4 in Ohio, 4 in Wisconsin, 3 in Michigan, 2 in Indiana, 2 in Pennsylvania, 2 in Florida, 1 in Utah, 1 in Colorado, 1 in Hawaii, 0.70 in North Dakota); Mills, 33.80 (25 in Arkansas, 3 in Illinois, 3 in New Jersey, 2 in Alabama, 0.55 in Wyoming, 0.25 in Alaska); Muskie, 24.30 (15 in Maine, 5.50 in Illinois, 1.80 in New Hampshire, 1 in Texas, 1 in Colorado); Kennedy, 12.70 (4 in Iowa, 3 in Illinois, 2 in Ohio, 1 in Kansas, 1 in Indiana, 1 in Tennessee, 0.70 in North Dakota); Hays, 5 (Ohio); McCarthy, 2 (Illinois); Mondale, 1 (Kansas); Clark, 1 (Minnesota); not voting, 5 (Tennessee).

3. Humphrey, 35 (16 in Minnesota, 4 in Ohio, 4 in Wisconsin, 3 in Indiana, 3 in Michigan, 2 in Pennsylvania, 1 in Utah, 1 in Florida, 1 in Hawaii); Mills, 32.80 (25 in Arkansas, 2 in Illinois, 2 in New Jersey, 2 in Alabama, 1 in South Carolina, 0.55 in Wyoming, 0.25 in Alaska); Muskie, 20.80 (15 in Maine, 3 in Illinois, 1.80 in New Hampshire, 1 in Texas); Kennedy, 10.65 (4 in Iowa, 2 in Ohio, 1 in Kansas, 1 in Indiana, 1 in Tennessee, 1 in Illinois, 0.65 in Delaware); Hays, 5 (Ohio); McCarthy, 2 (Illinois); Mondale, 1 (Kansas).

HOUSE ELECTIONS

1972 - 3

MICHIGAN

Candidates	Votes	%
Robert J. Huber (R)	95,053	52.6
Daniel S. Cooper (D)	85,580	47.4
William S. Broomfield (R)	123,697	70.4
George F. Montgomery (D)	50,355	28.6

MINNESOTA

1 Albert H. Quie (R)	142,698	70.7
Charles S. Thompson (DFL)	59,106	29.3
2 Anchor Nelsen (R)	124,350	57.1
Charles V. Turnbull (DFL)	93,433	42.9
3 Bill Frenzel (R)	132,638	62.9
Jim Bell (DFL)	66,070	31.3
Donald Wright (MINN TAX)	12,234	5.8
4 Joseph E. Karth (DFL)	138,292	72.4
Steve Thompson (R)	52,786	27.6
5 Donald M. Fraser (DFL)	135,108	65.8
Allan Davission (R)	50,014	24.4
Norm Selby (MINN TAX)	15,845	7.7
6 John M. Zwach (R)	114,537	51.0
Richard M. Nolan (DFL)	109,955	49.0
7 Bob Bergland (DFL)	133,067	59.1
Jon O. Haaven (R)	92,283	41.0
8 John A. Blathnik (DFL)	161,823	75.9
Edward Johnson (R)	51,314	24.1

MISSISSIPPI

1 Jamie L. Whitten (D)	87,526	100.0
2 David R. Bowen (D)	69,892	61.9
Carl Butler (R)	39,117	34.7
3 G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery (D)	105,722	100.0
4 Thad Cochran (R)	67,655	47.9
Ellis B. Bodron (D)	62,148	44.0
Eddie L. McBride (I)	11,571	8.2
5 Trent Lott (R)	77,826	55.4
Ben Stone (D)	62,101	44.2

MISSOURI

1 William Clay (D)	95,098	64.0
Richard O. Funsch (R)	53,596	36.0
2 James W. Symington (D)	134,332	63.5
John W. Cooper Jr. (R)	77,192	36.5
3 Leonor K. Sullivan (D)	124,365	69.3
Albert Holst (R)	54,523	30.4
4 William J. Randall (D)	108,131	57.4
Raymond E. Barrows (R)	80,228	42.6
5 Richard Bolling (D)	93,812	62.8
Vernon E. Rice (R)	53,257	35.6
6 Jerry Litton (D)	110,047	52.2
Russell Sloan (R)	91,610	43.5
7 Gene Taylor (R)	132,780	63.7
William Thomas (D)	75,613	36.3
8 Richard Ichord (D)	112,556	62.1
David R. Countie (R)	68,580	37.9
9 William L. Hungate (D)	132,150	66.6
Robert L. Prange (R)	66,528	33.5
10 Bill D. Burlison (D)	106,301	64.3
M. Francis Svendrowski (R)	59,083	35.7

MONTANA

1 Richard G. Shoup (R)	88,373	53.7
Arnold Olsen (D)	76,073	46.3
2 John Melcher (D)	114,524	76.1
Richard L. Forester (R)	36,063	24.0

NEBRASKA

1 Charles Thone (R)	126,789	64.2
Darrel E. Berg (D)	70,570	35.8
2 John Y. McCollister (R)	114,669	63.9
Patrick L. Cooney (D)	64,696	36.1
3 Dave Martin (R)	133,607	69.6
Warren Fitzgerald (D)	58,378	30.4

NEVADA

Candidates	Votes	%
AL David Towell (R)	94,113	52.2
James H. Bilbray (D)	86,349	47.9

NEW HAMPSHIRE

1 Louis C. Wyman (R)	115,732	72.9
Chester E. Merrow (D)	42,996	27.1
2 James C. Cleveland (R)	107,021	67.6
Charles B. Officer (D)	51,259	32.4

NEW JERSEY

1 John E. Hunt (R)	97,650	52.5
James J. Florio (D)	87,492	47.0
2 Charles W. Sandman Jr. (R)	133,096	65.7
John D. Rose (D)	69,374	34.3
3 James J. Howard (D)	103,893	53.0
William F. Dowd (R)	92,285	47.0
4 Frank Thompson Jr. (D)	98,206	58.0
Peter P. Garibaldi (R)	71,030	42.0
5 Peter H. B. Frelinghuysen Jr. (R)	127,310	62.0
Frederick M. Bohm (D)	78,076	38.0

6 Edwin B. Forsythe (R)	123,610	62.8
Francis P. Brennan (D)	71,113	36.1
7 William B. Widnall (R)	124,365	57.9
Arthur J. Lesemann (D)	85,712	39.9
8 Robert A. Roe (D)	104,381	63.1
Walter E. Johnson (R)	61,073	36.9
9 Henry Helstoski (D)	119,543	55.8
Alfred D. Schiaffo (R)	94,747	44.2
10 Peter W. Rodino Jr. (D)	94,308	79.8
Kenneth C. Miller (R)	23,949	20.3
11 Joseph G. Minish (D)	120,227	57.5
Milton A. Waldor (R)	82,957	39.7
12 Matthew J. Rinaldo (R)	127,690	63.5
Jerry Fitzgerald English (D)	72,758	36.2
13 Joseph J. Maraziti (R)	109,640	55.7
Helen S. Meyner (D)	84,492	42.9
14 Dominick V. Daniels (D)	103,089	61.2
Richard T. Bozzone (R)	57,683	34.3
15 Edward J. Patten (D)	98,155	52.3
Fuller H. Brooks (R)	89,400	47.7

NEW MEXICO

1 Manuel Lujan Jr. (R)	118,403	55.7
Eugene Gallegos (D)	94,239	44.3
2 Harold Runnels (D)	116,152	72.2
George E. Presson (R)	44,784	27.8

NEW YORK

1 Otis G. Pike (D)	102,628	52.5
Joseph H. Boyd (R)	72,133	36.9
Robert D. L. Gardner (C)	18,627	9.5
2 James R. Grover Jr. (R)	99,348	65.8
Fern Costa Dennison (D)	49,454	32.8
3 Angelo D. Roncallo (R)	103,620	57.0
Carter F. Bales (D)	73,429	40.4
Lawrence P. Russo (C)	14,768	8.1
4 Norman F. Lent (R)	125,422	62.4
Elaine B. Horowitz (D)	72,280	36.0
5 John W. Wydler (R)	133,332	62.4
Ferne M. Steckler (D)	67,709	31.7
6 Lester L. Wolff (D, L)	109,620	51.5
John T. Gallagher (R, C)	103,038	48.5
7 Joseph P. Addabbo (D, L)	103,110	75.0
John E. Hall (R)	28,296	20.6
8 Benjamin S. Rosenthal (D, L)	110,293	64.7
Frank A. La Pina (R, C)	60,166	35.3
9 James J. Delaney (D, R)	141,323	93.4
Loretta E. Gressey (L)	9,965	6.6
10 Mario Biaggi (D, R)	130,200	93.9
Michael S. Bank (L)	8,397	6.1

Candidates

11 Frank J. Brasco (D)	87,869	63.9
Melvin Solomon (R, C)	43,105	31.3
12 Shirley Chisholm (D, L)	57,821	87.9
John M. Coleman (R)	6,373	9.7
13 Bertram L. Podell (D)	113,294	65.2
Joseph F. Marcucci (R)	44,293	25.5
Leonard M. Simon (L)	9,173	5.3
14 John J. Rooney (D, C)	45,515	53.9
Allard K. Lowenstein (L)	23,732	28.1
Francis J. Vojticky (R)	14,813	17.5
15 Hugh L. Carey (D)	77,019	52.2
John F. Gangemi (R)	63,446	43.0
16 Elizabeth Holtzman (D)	96,984	65.6
Nicholas R. Macchio (R)	33,828	22.9
Emanuel Celler (L)	10,337	7.0
17 John N. Murphy (D)	92,252	60.3
Mario D. Belardino (R, C)	60,812	39.7
18 Edward I. Koch (D, L)	125,117	69.9
Jane P. Langley (R, C)	52,379	29.3
19 Charles Rangel (D, R)	104,427	96.0
Bella S. Abzug (D)	85,558	55.7
Priscilla M. Ryan (L)	43,045	28.0
Annette Flatto Levy (R)	18,024	11.7
21 Herman Badillo (D, L)	48,441	86.9
Manuel A. Ramos (R)	6,366	11.4
22 Jonathan B. Bingham (D, L)	107,448	76.5

Candidates

1 Walter B. Jones (D)	77,438	68.8
J. Jordan Bonner (R)	35,063	31.2
2 L. H. Fountain (D)	88,798	71.6
Erick P. Little (R)	35,193	28.4
3 David N. Henderson (D)	56,968	100.0

NORTH CAROLINA

1 Walter B. Jones (D)	77,438	68.8
J. Jordan Bonner (R)	35,063	31.2
2 L. H. Fountain (D)	88,798	71.6
Erick P. Little (R)	35,193	28.4
3 David N. Henderson (D)	56,968	100.0